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LUKE GRIDLEY'S
DIARY  
of 1757.

While in Service in the French and
... Indian War ...

EDITED FOR THE ACORN CLUB



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SECTION





LUKE GRIDLEY'S DIARY.

Gridley, Luke.

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While in Service in the French and
... Indian War ...

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PREFACE.

THE year 1757 was the nadir of the English cause during the Seven Years' War in America. Not only had it thus far distinctly the worse, — having lost the control of the West at Fort Duquesne in 1755, and that of Lake Ontario at Oswego in 1756, and gained only a desert frontier on the east by depopulating one of its own provinces, — but the disasters had seemingly taught the government nothing. They had not even loosed the hold of political “pulls” and jobbery which was the curse of all the administrative services. For two years a set of very unfit commanders, appointed by court or family influence, with the King's son Cumberland as military dictator, played ducks and drakes with the English chances of gaining the chief heritage of the Western Hemisphere; and they would have lost it altogether but for the provincials whom they despised, belittled, and defamed — largely for their own repute and promotions, and to the fatal misleading of

English judgment as to an easy suppression of provincial revolt a few years later. Braddock, the first, appointee of Cumberland and head of the household brigade, was by far the ablest and most courageous; but the remnant of his slaughtered regulars was saved by Washington's Virginians. A provincial governor, the energetic and sensible if tactless and over-confident Shirley, then held the field for a while, and the solitary success of nearly three years was achieved by Lyman's New-Englanders; it won a baronetcy and £5000 not for the victor, however, but for the late Admiral Warren's nephew, William Johnson, who despite the value of his Indian diplomacy, had shown neither military conduct nor courage. His jealousy of Shirley's interference began a feud which was taken up by his kinsmen, the powerful De Lanceys; and Shirley was deposed through their influence with Cumberland, probably plus the interprovincial grudge between New York and New England which wrought so much evil in the Revolution. An English colonel, Daniel Webb, for no historically assignable reason, was then sent over as a place-warmer for two Scotchmen: James Abercrombie, another court favorite, who in turn was to be *locum tenens* for John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, though all three were to remain as generals. Loudoun had also the influential earldom of

Stair behind him, and had managed to lose nearly all his command at Preston in 1745. Scotch noblemen were pertinacious place-jobbers and patronage-hunters, but the just repute of Scotchmen as fighters seems moreover to have bred an idea that all were competent commanders. The curious feature in this case was that the chiefs did not even exhibit the personal warlikeness which distinguished so many of their underlings. Loudoun had the hot temper and rough manners of the conventional Scot, and was valorous toward civilian magistrates; but he displayed no undignified haste to engage in actual conflict, and was easily persuaded of its infeasibility. Abercrombie, after his repulse at Ticonderoga in 1758, was stricken with a more cowardly panic than Braddock's mangled troops, as having infinitely less cause; and with a superior army fled from before a fort which Montcalm said could have been taken with two cannon. They were no worse than Webb, however, who was in a qualm of apprehension during his whole stay at Fort Edward; never risked his skin, and never moved without a huge escort; and after Fort William Henry and its garrison had been captured through his own fears and incapacity, thought of flying to Albany and leaving the upper settlements to the torch and scalping-knife.

These appointments again illustrate the contempt of the home government for provincial affairs, as needing little ability to manage, which alone would justify the Revolution. Respectable subordinates, or likely to be such, not one of these persons would have been dreamed of for a commander-in-chief of the smallest independent army in Europe; but almost any officer of regimental rank was good enough to plan and direct campaigns in America, with a few thousand regulars and a "mob" of provincials. Yet they would probably all have done decently well in Europe, for which they were trained; where nearly all battles were fought on open ground, with well-drilled and disciplined troops for at least a backbone, all marches were over multiplex roads thoroughly mapped out and running through settled agricultural districts, supply departments were fairly provided and officered, and practically all contingencies could be forecast if the general had a brain and experience. But in America, where none of these things were true, they were helplessly unable to construct a new system of ideas, and except Braddock they seem to have been physically daunted. The mere fact that pretty much all battles were fought *in the woods*, as were most of the Revolutionary battles, shattered all their notions of tactics. If you could not keep your

troops together, how could there be any fighting except a barbarian scramble without guidance, and how could they form and maintain columns when crawling through underbrush or making way around giant pines? And the vast silent woods aswarm with skulking savages, or suddenly breaking into blood-curdling yells and screeches, evidently appalled their nerves, as they did those of the Americans themselves wherever familiarity had not bred coolness or even over-contempt. They blanched as even Arnold could not prevent his troops from blenching when Burgoyne was marching from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, and not a hand was lifted against him in those trackless forests; as the forces of Willett and Gansevoort in Fort Stanwix were well-nigh frightened into surrender in a well-stocked fort, by half their number of Indians and a handful of white men.

Against this shifting series of second-rate military pedants was matched a Frenchman of first-rate ability and adaptability, Montcalm, succeeding another of the same stripe, Dieskau; aided by subordinates to whom the forest life and the Indians were native or entirely familiar. The American sections they led were as ill-matched in the same direction. The English provinces disliked each other only less than the French, and dreaded each other more. Each

was afraid of doing too much, for fear of the rest taking the advantage to do too little; and those under royal governors were glad of every occasion of public danger and demand to tie their rulers' hands, not only for the present, but as a precedent for the future. None had or would permit any standing military force; each raised what it wanted for the year, disbanded it at the close, and could not get a new one into the field till toward summer of the next. Men, supplies, everything, were insufficient, slow, and disunited. Canada was at least a single province, with only one governor and one general to fight and paralyze each other — which truly was enough. That in spite of all this the French made but little real progress during their time of superiority, and sank into irretrievable ruin as soon as the English put stronger men in power, is the best evidence of the incurable weakness of their colonial system. It was in fact not a colonizing system at all, except in old Canada. Outside of that it lacked the one thing needful — people; and, as even there save for a slender body, was merely a set of forts with practically no settlers behind them. The command of a district hundreds of miles in extent rested on some one fort, or a few stockades; and as soon as they were reduced, the whole fabric went with them and went forever. The English control

was in solid ranks of farms and villages, which could not have been expropriated wholesale even if conquered, and which could lose a hundred frontier skirmishes and regain everything by a single victory.

The operations of 1757, in which our diarist was a humble unit, need not be set forth in detail. Broadly, all forward movements and all plans for such had been suspended by the displacement of Shirley, and nothing could go on until Loudoun had decided what he wished to undertake. His plan was the old one of cutting off all French reinforcements by capturing Louisbourg and commanding the mouth of the St. Lawrence, as a preliminary to striking down what was left; but he showed his bad judgment by so stripping the centre for this purpose as to expose that to imminent destruction before the starving system could work. This venturesomeness in plan could only have been redeemed by equal venturesomeness and energy in execution; but he showed neither. His supplies were dilatory, but so were everybody's always; and he did not reflect, like Pepperrell and his men and a thousand other minor leaders of his time, that the enemy's were sure to be so likewise. He would do nothing until he had a force to assure victory; before he received it, the French had become the stronger

at Louisbourg; and when his admiral would still attack, he would bear no part in it.

Meantime Montcalm had gathered some six thousand regulars and Canadians and a couple of thousand Indians at Ticonderoga, to invest Fort William Henry and Monro's twelve hundred at the head of Lake George, the less important of the two keys of communication from Canada to Albany. Webb the while was cowering at the ultimate key-post, Fort Edward, fifteen miles off: binding Putnam with an oath not to reveal the presence of the enemy when first discovered; waiting for provincial reinforcements which could not possibly arrive in time; sending enough to Monro to be a heavy loss, but not enough to make successful resistance even probable; not daring to join him with full force lest the French should turn his rear and assail Albany, and not reflecting that if the upper fort was untenable, it was obvious common-sense to withdraw the garrison to Fort Edward, and leave the French an empty fort instead of lining it with good troops; refusing to let his provincials and incoming militia march to Monro's relief when they begged it, countermanding the permission to a small body when given; acting, in a word, like a thoroughly frightened man in presence of new conditions he could not handle—which was the truth.

Monro surrendered on promise of security; but Montcalm's Indians had engaged with him on promise of plunder and would not have their prey escape, the fear of losing some part of their services as scouts was more insistent than humanity with some officers, and the prisoners themselves paid ransom in brandy which maddened the savage blood still more. The Indians butchered the sick and wounded at once, the Canadian officers very willing because it relieved them of a burden on their march; dug up and scalped the corpses from the small-pox hospital, and were later decimated by the consequent epidemic; dragged bodies of prisoners out of the marching column and slaughtered them, keeping some for eating at Montreal; and before they were stopped by Montcalm and some others, had probably killed five hundred sick and well. The massacre, its numbers greatly exaggerated, is still one of the best remembered incidents in American history.

Webb's expresses and appeals had already called out great bodies of provincial militia, which came pouring in just before and just after the disaster. Connecticut alone had sent some 5000, or about one-seventh of its entire fighting population on this single call, besides the considerable body of its regulars already in the field, though its own borders were in no danger. As Montcalm's forces did not

advance, but withdrew to Canada a week later, these were soon recalled; but meantime they were enduring great hardships from lack of food, tents, blankets, and cooking utensils, and many refused to remain without object, the New-Yorkers threatening to shoot their officers if they interfered. At last all was settled; a small force was enrolled for winter guard and scouting; and both sides prepared for the next year's struggle, when Pitt had come into power and begun to send over very different officers.

Connecticut's part in this war was one which may well be a source of pride to every citizen. She levied first and last over 27,000 troops, of whom some 14,000 were separate individuals, and 9,000 were regularly in the pay of the colony for full fighting years' services in the field, outside the militia call—even that showing her willingness to respond to the common danger and send her sons to the field. Now her population in the year 1756 was found to be 130,611. The highest proportion of males between fifteen and fifty-five known in any European country has been 280 per 1000; the lowest a little under 240. Even the latter, taken from old settled peoples, is probably greater than that in a half-settled colony where families were very large and the number of small children very great; but in any event the number of such male

adults in Connecticut was not much above 36,000, and may have been below 31,000. Taking the supposition most unfavorable for our purpose, the colony furnished, for a war which did not directly endanger herself, and simply from common loyalty, nearly two-fifths of all her fighting citizens; on the more probable supposition, nearly one-half. Even apart from the militia sent to relieve Fort William Henry, it contributed certainly one-fourth, and probably nearer one-third, of its entire adult citizenship for steady service in breaking the French power.

In 1757 the General Assembly passed an act to raise 1,400 men, in one regiment of fourteen companies, to act in conjunction with Loudoun's regulars. At its head was placed Phineas Lyman of Suffield, the eminent soldier who had won the battle of Lake George eighteen months before, had won Johnson a title and wealth, and would have seized Ticonderoga for him if allowed; had noted with unerring eye the best spot above Albany to command the road from Canada, and fortified it. Johnson, with an equally unerring eye for his own interests, suppressed Lyman's name in his dispatches and removed it from the fort. It was then the custom, following the English fashion, for the colonel himself (English lieutenant-colonel, their colonels being titular figure-heads) to be captain of the first

or "colonel's company," and Lyman so acted. The other two regimental officers were respectively captains of the next two companies: Lieutenant-Colonel Nathan Whiting of New Haven, second company, and Major Nathan Payson of Hartford, third company. Of the others in order, the captains were Israel Putnam of Pomfret, Samuel Hubbell of Fairfield, David Waterbury of Stamford, Adonijah Fitch of New London, John Slapp of Mansfield, John Jeffries of Cornwall, Eliphalet Whittlesey of Newington, Edmund Welles of Hebron, Ben Adam Gallup of Groton, Ephraim Preston of Wallingford, and Andrew Ward of Guilford.

The present diarist, Luke Gridley, was a private in "Captain Major" Payson's company. He was from Farmington, of a numerous stock which also included a missionary, and members of which were on the committee to raise subscriptions for Boston after its closure by the Port Bill. It was allied to the Boston family which produced General Richard Gridley, the great military engineer who laid out the works which reduced Louisbourg in 1745, and the defensive works at Bunker Hill and Lake George. He was in no battles; but had he been, perhaps we should have had no diary. At all events, he marched with his company to Fort Edward, and was in camp there through the season till the troops

were discharged. He gives us a set of notes upon the camp life and the outside events that came to his ears, which afford some new information, correct some old, and add to the vividness of our picture of the situation from the soldiers' point of view.

As examples, we note the ever-present whip as the tool of all work for instruction and emendation. From the horrible punishment of a thousand lashes for desertion to the enemy, or five hundred for deserting from the forces of one colony into those of another (a most significant entry as a side-light on provincial separatism), or five hundred and being drummed out of camp with a rope around the neck for unspecified iniquities, we have all the way from three hundred down for arrears of a season's dereliction, for sleeping on guard (an unforgivable offense which wins the dreadful punishment of running the gauntlet also), for drunkenness (where, curiously, a "Yorker" gets three hundred to a regular's one), for selling rum without a license or to the Indians, for insubordination, for playing cards (doubtless swindling at them, as the camp was anything but puritanical), for wearing a dirty shirt on guard (quite properly, remembering what cleanliness means in a camp), for counterfeiting and passing the money, and so on; and we rejoice, with a wistful desire that our ancestors' customs were not dead,

when a dirty practical joker receives fifty well-earned lashes. Riding the wooden horse with heavy weights on the feet is also not disused. We note the constant labor of the officers to prevent or check vices, or inattention to the discipline needed for safety, for life or health: driving the worst camp-trulls out of the lines, regulating or stopping the sale of liquor, stopping the waste of stores, preventing the jaunts beyond the lines which were always liable to make one less soldier and one more scalp, punishing the shirks by making them stand guard at night, enforcing cleanliness, sobriety, obedience, and marksmanship, and respect for private property. We note that a few true-blooded New-Englanders hold Sabbath services even without a minister, in a camp where all sorts of "gaming, cursing, and swearing" are going on around them; and that the Connecticut men observe "election day" even in camp, "toping off with Bisket." We note the never-ending scourge of small-pox which made dreadful havoc with the soldiers throughout the war, had already driven some bodies into disbanding outright, and filled the hospital which the deaths from it were constantly emptying. Rather curiously, we find pneumonia ("the Long feaver") one of the worst foes in mid-summer. We note that the allowance of rum is missed only less sorely than that of food: in those

times it was thought impossible to keep a force in health and vigor except by regular if small rations of spirits. We observe that an Indian massacre of a scouting force is prevented by the vigilance of three or four, "the rest of the gard being asleep," — a monotonously regular tale in colonial affairs. We are reminded that the English side too had Indians serving it, the Iroquois being kept on its side through Johnson's influence; but the "Mohocks" only bring in prisoners, not scalps, and seemingly behave with decency. We see also that the descendants of the Mohegans and even the Pequots are ready to take a share in the excitement of war; indeed, the roll of Fitch's company shows a quite extraordinary percentage of evident Mohegans with craggy or grotesque names. The negro is also well in evidence; an Afro-American could make a stirring picture of his race in the early wars. Other topics will suggest themselves, opened by the diary.

The language of an untutored colonial is always of interest from its hints of contemporary phonetics, or its survivals of old names or shades of meaning or usage. The present diary is not without these. "Resigned" for surrendered, "while" for until, "peppered" for seasoned in general, instance the last-named sort; "sass" for green vegetables has no mystery for New England readers; "skeel" for

cleaning off the *scale* or rust is an interesting dialectic survival which has missed the great general dictionaries wholly. In pronunciations, it is interesting to observe that our Connecticut hero's name was apparently pronounced *Limmon*, at least by some; "Mori^{all}" for Montreal was certainly common; "Camplain" may be a mere slip, or indicate the same attempt at pronouncing from a written word which produced "Glockster" on some tongues; "sursuposed" and "Gaplop's" (Gallop's) are examples of a phonetic law more remarkably exemplified in the astounding name of "Scockerromah," applied to Lake George, and but for the inserted "c" a quite careful catching of the French pronunciation of "Sacrement"; "a Lewed" and "a Lewance" for allowed and allowance, and Teuchit for (probably) Toushet, illustrate the then frequent survival of the pronunciation of *ow* as "oo," still usual in "wound," and once universal. "Willaim" and "Jeames" accurately preserve the accepted pronunciations of our fathers later even than this. "Poywoy" for powwow and "boyl" for ball illustrate, like other colonial writings, the curious use of "y" to indicate the sound of "w," as "droy" and "soy" for draw and saw. "Er" as "ar," in "reharsth" and so on, is a matter of course. F. M.

DIARY.

March 29th Ad 1757

Luke Gridly His Book

April 8th this Day was musterd and took our oaths

Mondy the 18th Day: this Day Reseved wages: Bounty furst month wages & Biliting: 3=18=9=0^r genneral Limmons Com[]² marcht ye 18th April the 22 of April we³ marcht.

mondy 25th we marcht Litchfeel

26th to fegguts⁴ In Kornwill 36 mi⁵ the next day wich was ye 27th we marcht to Landdard Robins

The bounty this year was 42 shillings, the soldier to find clothes, powder-horn, and bullet-pouch; the wages for a private, £1 12s. per month of 28 days; the allowance for billeting, 4s. per week. This would make £4 10s. for the first month; but the clothes were probably furnished by the colony and deducted.

² Lyman's personal company, the first.

³ Payson's company, the third. This first stage was from Farmington to Harwinton, through that part of Bristol afterward set off as Burlington.

⁴ The Widow Sedgwick's.

⁵ From Farmington, not Litchfield.— The road from Litchfield to Cornwall was through Goshen.

in Cannan to Dine 8 miles: from thence to Landard Reeds In Solsbeary 6 miles

28th we marcht 4 mils¹ & 6 through the nine Pardenners² and then 6 which was to Levenstones manners fourness³ nb: we passed By whare 3: men died: small pox a fortinnight Before haveing the wind of y^e house

29 Day we marcht 20 miles & came to Clou-verreck⁴: all In helth.

30th Day I went 3 miles & came to Rever⁵: Seeing my frinds well I pa[st] 5 miles up the River for Shad

May 1th wich was the Lords Day this Day we had a meating without any minister

the 2th Day our officssers Devided us Into fore parts In order to vittel them more Regiller⁶

¹ To the Connecticut line at the Oblong, on the west of Salisbury.

² The Little Nine Partners, granted by New York in 1706, was the manorial estate next south of Livingstone's Manor: it was through this that the troops passed. The Great Nine Partners, south of this, had been granted in 1697.

³ Furnace (Ancram). The ore beds were part of the great Middle Berkshire deposit still heavily worked in Salisbury.

⁴ Claverack, three miles southeast of Hudson, N. Y.

⁵ The Hudson.

⁶ "The Men Complain y^e Most of Hunger yt Ever I Hered in my Life," says another diarist.

The 3th wich was tuesday we had orders from gennerrl Limmon to be Caled to geather at 7 oclock half In the morning: & 7 at night and not to Be absent haveing our hats Cocked up ours guns Bright & our gloths cleen: and a gard to Be kept: this fet fum of us to washing Quick:

The 4th Day we trained Reseveing ftricker orders

The 5 D they trained But I was garding & fighing we Being ftraitened: for Proviccon: & hungery: Johnnathan Beamman Eate 3 Raw fich: guts & all for 4 quarts of wine¹

The 6 D we trained haveing Rewls fo ftrick: that them Did not fute the ofescers was Train By themseuelfs²

Sattarday the 7 Day we³ was all a Lowed to train afore foks But John forgoeson & Shewble Reed: Gennerrall Limon Reseved orders from Lord

¹ Such bestial wagers were not uncommon in this gross hard-living age. A generation or two later even than this, two men ate each a raw skunk on a bet as to which should keep his meat down the longest: a noted Windham tavern-keeper named Staniford was the winner.

² This war was the first occasion when the colonial troops became a direct part of the British armies, and came under their system of discipline; and in the last two years, officers like Lyman had become conversant with the official rules of drill and tried to enforce them, while the self-trained mass resented them.

³ *I. e.*, Payson's company.

Leudon to gard the fitors and get things to Cook in:

The 9th Day was the Sabbath: we d a meating without a minister²: one man out of Eevery Com-benny was sent up to Greean Bush³ for pots and kittles: Cololol 1: Pheinaas Limon: C 2 Whitelsy: C3P: Gallap: C4P: Putmans: 5 Captain Magor Pasons: 6 CP Slaps: 7 CP fitch 8 CP Gafas 9 CP Wells⁴

Mondy the 9th D I was on Gard we went to visiting & Captain hugabone⁵: our Landdard traind & haveing 4 men to press he gatherd 154 Dollers for them to List.⁶

the 10th Day I went on to the River to ficing [canceled: I see a fturgen 6 foot Long] & thare was

¹ A slip for "8th."

² This was special to a few high-grade New-Englanders. A New York officer said that Sunday had been packed away with the stores in Albany, and would not come up till the work was done.

³ This individual historic name is now obliterated in "Rensselaer," city, which rolls several different things into one, and the railroad and postal station of "East Albany," which represents nothing.

⁴ The numbering of these is not the official one, as will be noted from our list.

⁵ Hogeboom, of Johnson's New York forces.

⁶ That is, the men subscribed to pay bounty and hire the recruits instead of impressing them.

one of Cap Gaplops negros whiped for threting of killing a man.

Wensday the 11th Day we marcht 10 miles & Came to Landard vanalls¹ to Dine from thens 6 which was to Canterhook²: we Logd By ye meating: house

The 12th Day was Electfhon Day³ we marcht 24 miles and Came to Greenbuch: we Loged Cap Dows Barn:

the 13th D toping up Electfhon with Bisket we marcht 10 miles & Came to Landard Skilars⁴: Jest a Bove y^e flats⁵

the 14th D we had our Amannachtion & then we marcht 20 miles & Came to Scatte Cook⁶

the 15th D Gennaral Limon haveing his Chosie to Stay thaire: or Come back he Broute us Back to the River side 2 or 3 miles that Boston folgers might go there:

¹ Elsewhere Fanall and Fondall.

² Kinderhook.

³ The formal celebration in Connecticut.

⁴ Schuyler's.

⁵ Troy; but the distances in this and the next march are not intelligible even by circuitous roads. They should be about six and twelve miles instead of ten and twenty.

⁶ Schaghticoke, east of the Hudson, a few miles southeast of Stillwater.

the 16th D I went to hunting Dear a monday Being on Gard some of y^e time & one of Limons men killed one & CP Whitelses another teuchit¹ killed one Before our offiscers had orders from Limon that no man went to hunting or passd over the River: or spoyled any Boards² with out his Leave Also that we fshould Be Examind how maney Carthirigs we had & have an a Count took of how maney we had spent: & for the future Every man that shot a gun Gun with out his Leave was to Be Brough Before a cort marshal & Be dealt with as an abuser of the Kings stors & find for Every Carterrig 3 Pence starting haveing But ten and one flint Deliverd him

The 17th D we traird I Beaing on gard:

Enfine Ezekill Lewis was put under gard for not obeying orders:

the 18 D John ashley³ was whiped for not obaying orders one of Limons men

the 19 Day a thursday we had an a Larram 7 Ingins Runing after a boye, hwo was hunting pigons to scalp him fuerd at him & shot through his shirt
5 Boullet holes fume grasing his flesh Bing the west

¹ Evidently an Indian, and apparently the same as Tousey (Toushet?) or John Hatchet, found on the rolls.

² Or houses, barns, or fences.

³ An incorrigible elderly "tough subject."

fide of the Rever 100 Rods from us fume Duch York Cap Penders¹ his Comepantions fwonge thare hats a frited at Lenthe one went to his Releaf : thare was fcouts fent out as Quick as Chould Be : & 2 men out of Each Compeneuy to Allbaney for more folgers : & Captain Putmans Rangers² : & 20 of us was fent over the River to gard³ these Cowards teufet⁴ was put under gard for not obaying orders & a whipping post fet up : we was all Brought Round In a Bodey : his fentance was to Be whipet 20 Lachis upon his Begeing faver & promising Reformation his honor⁵ with good Advice : & ftrick Directions to us all Repreaved him

the 20th Day the folgers traird & the offiscers Played boyl⁶ Cornal Limon gave us orders to march to the forts as foon a we Could Conveineantly his honners Compeneuy passd over the River In order thare for

the 21 Day we was to prepare and be In a Readyness to go over the River : to march : The Boston folgers Come hear

¹ Carpenters.

² These were a company raised by voluntary enlistment from among the Connecticut troops, for scouting purposes, and subordinate to Major Robert Rogers.

³ Guard *against*, he means — sc. the Indians, the “cowards.”

⁴ The same as “Teuchit” before mentioned.

⁵ Lyman.

⁶ Ball.

Sabath Day 22th aboute 9 o Clock In the morn-
ing 7 compeneys marcht from hear & travild to
the S[t]ill wartres¹ fort 6 mils: thare we Refresht
our selfs: & marcht 7 mils and Picht our tenths
which Came By water

Day 23 which was monday we marcht 10 mils
& Picht our tents at Suratoke²: thare we went
Into the River & Chast³ aboute 3000 Alewives for
our Super

Day 24th Tusday Leftanant wells Came heare
& half our compeny traird and the Rest Chacths³
and Salted: 3 Barrills of Alewives I went to kill a
Dear & Shot wid with my gun wet his honor
giveing no Leave to Skeel⁴ It out

Day 25th thare was one Dannail Boake⁵: one of
Cap Gailaps men: Run the gandtelit through 30
men for fleeping upon gard which Cryed Lord god
have mercy on me the B[l]ood flying every stroke
this was a forrowfull fight: A[l]so one man was
fintanced to Ride the wooden ho[r]se for not turning

¹ Stillwater on the Hudson, twenty-three miles above Albany
and opposite the mouth of the Hoosick.

² Saratoga.

³ "Ketcht," not chased.

⁴ "Scale," or clean off rust, etc.; an old dialectic word which
has escaped all popular dictionaries.

⁵ Bogue; a chronic offender, earning and receiving savage pun-
ishments.

out so soon as the Rest to train with 4 muskets tied to his feet: But was Reprieved

Day 26 About 9 o Clock In the morning we marcht and traveld 7 miles from hear which was half a mile above fort misery¹ and Refresht our selfs: then we marcht 7 miles & In Camped Jest Below fort Edward²

Day 27th we Passed over the River and Piched our tents at the norwest Corner of fort Edward

Day 28th fume to work highways: fume on gard fume garding te[a]ms to timber

Day 29th Sabath fume scouting others garding & Regellateing there tents: the roil amarricans³ the Blues⁴ marcht to fort willaim henery⁵

¹ A camp nickname of Fort Miller at the rapids of the upper Hudson, on the west side; its name is still borne by a village there.

² On the west side of the Hudson near its great bend, opposite the "Great Carry" (*i. e.*, to Wood Creek, running into Lake Champlain). Originally Fort Lyman, built by Lyman in 1755, before the battle of Lake George; renamed by Johnson to curry favor with George II., after his grandson the Duke of York, brother of the later George III.

³ A regiment of four battalions raised in America for this war, principally among the Pennsylvania Germans, but with European officers. The famous Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Bouquet commanded one battalion.

⁴ The New Jersey regiment raised for this war and commanded by Colonel Parker.

⁵ Built by Johnson this year, and named for the Duke of Gloucester, another brother of George III. It was at the head or southern end of Lake George, close to the water and to the present wharf and railroad station at Caldwell or Lake George.

Day 30th we By ye Post haveing heard that thare was: an army of fri[n]ch hard By william henerry thare was 70 men sent out to Rang¹: fume one way & fume a nother: thare was 2 men Con-veyed to the horspetall: the Dockters Judgeing them to have the small pox

Day 31th I was garding fume york Carpenders² Captain Putmans Rangers fet out for thare scout.

June the 1th Ad 1757 wensday was freed from Duety for a Coock: a party of men³ was sent up to the Lake to gard teams.

Day 2th we Being a going to worck In the high-way had half a gill of Rum a Lewed us a day haveing the promis of a hwol gill: we marcht one mile & tayrayed that Night

Day 3th we fume of us worked hard: But them which was Laszy ware calld to gard us when It was night

¹ These were Putnam's men, enlisted the day before; but they did not perhaps start for a day or two.

² Directing a working party in building a fence around the camp garden.

³ This consisted of thirty men each from Putnam's and another company of Rangers, with their captains and two officers and forty privates of the Connecticut troops. There is a confusion of a day or two about their starting, which is curiously reflected not only in another diarist of the camp, but even in the General Orders; unless the seventy and the one hundred were different parties—but Putnam could hardly have headed both.

Day 4th we hassend our Bisnes: finishing Before night: we Returned to the fort: we heard that fore men Being on gard Scattecook fhot: killed 1 frinch Indian & wounded a nother: 4 or 5 Run away: the rest of the gard Being asleep:¹

Day 5th which was the Sabath: our Regellars had a Scurmige of firing plattoons: thare was two of mager rogers² men Came hear which got Clear of thare Captivity at Canady & fayed thare would no frinch army Come hear this year they ware so stratend for provison³ Magor pasons arived hear.

Day 6th Captain putman's Rangers with fume of our men to afsist his scouting sets of for the narrows⁴ one of Captain Galops Indeains was whiped for stealing a gun 60 Laches: we fhot at marks⁵

¹ The usual condition except among the Rangers, and the source of many dreadful disasters.

² Rogers, a noted woodsman and border smuggler, was first commissioned by Johnson in the fall of 1755 to command such a company for winter scouting, and again by Shirley the next spring for permanent work; and gradually became the head of a number of semi-independent companies. He evidently had a good eye for ability, as he selected Putnam and Stark for assistants at the outset. Stark as a fellow New Hampshire woodsman he may have known, but Putnam had been only a plain Connecticut farmer.

³ See the desertions to the English from hunger later on.

⁴ There were several familiar places in this region thus called. The one here meant was doubtless that of Wood Creek, near its mouth at Lake Champlain; a favorite place of ambush to command the boat navigation of that useful stream.

⁵ As part of the ordered practice, not at will.

Day 7th tusday to giting pine this day one Reg-eler Died with the Camp Desteemper thare was 6 men of the scouts Came Back with a Drunken Indain hwo they Confind :

Day 8th sum of our picked gard see whare 12 Indians had Lain a Boute a mile from fort Edward : we heard fume Ranngers from new york : shot 3 frinchmen : of the Senterry About 2 miles Below ye narrows¹ : allfo they killed 3 more : and 4 of thare one² wounded :

Day 9th one man was whiped 40 Laches for siting Downe on gard : we had a shower of Rain which made us uneasze :

Day 10th we had an a Larram 15 men Being sent out a Boute half a mile East of fort Edward to gard aboute as many Cappenders : was ferrouded with 100 frinch & Ind had a shot fore of them Dead [in] fwamp : one Buckely & Martin hooker was two of them³ : 5 more was mising fursposed to be taken Captive : they took a horse : gennarl Limon : with 20 men by them selves went & shot upon them & fritend them so that he got 2 Pikes 2 Dear skins : fevearl scalping knives & Packs Allfo thare muster

¹ See note previous page.

² Own.

³ These were of Whittlesey's company ; the other two were Rice Edwards and William Mortawamock (probably a Mohegan) of Slapp's company. The latter had his heart torn out.

Role which gave an a Count of thare Being 100 of them & 200 More a Coming & whare they was to fcouthe: which was Reharsth¹ Both to the Lake & Surratoge with fpead.²

Day 11th fume of the peked gard fee 9 Indeains: and thare was a fcouthe fent After them: but Cuould not find them:

Day 12th which was the Sabaths: we fume of us A Lewed to fceace from our Labour: mary Rogers was Drumed out of the Camp³: & Gorge webster was put under gard for following her Drum magoir.

Day 13 2 Packs & Read a man fhot was fufpofed to Be taken was found Dead & Scalpt nearer then whare ye other was kild

Day 14 Gennarl Limon with 300 men went out fcout⁴

Day 15 Boston forses: 1800 of them Came hear⁵

Day 16th thare was one andris whiped 50 Lashes for fleeping on gard: Captain Putnan with his men

¹ Rehearsed.

² This skirmish is not reported by any one else.

³ Shortly after this there was a general medical examination of the camp women, who seem to have been of some number.

⁴ "Painted like a Mohog, as many other officers of the scout were," says another diarist. The scouts sometimes scalped the dead like Indians also.

⁵ Under Colonel James Frye. The famous Rufus Putnam was one of them.

Brought Into fort Edward a french man which told us: fore men & 5 scalps¹ was Carried to ticonderoge the 12 of June: that they Lost 7 of thare men the 10 of June wen these was Killd & taken: Allso that thare was two Battalyens of Regular troops at Ticonderoge² & a Large army at Crowne Pinte

Day 17th one of the man that was taken with the small pox may 30th Died with It: he took At Allbanney thinking he had it when he was yonge³

Day 18th we finishing our work at the tar kill made an oven:

Day the 19th which was the Sabath gennarl Limon with his scout Came In with 1 gun 2 hats & 3 packs which he took from the Enemy: the Indeians killed one Regellar & wounded another a mile Below fort Edward: Boston forses had a farmmon preached By thare minester with few hearers In the forenoon: In the afternoon they fhot at marks: the Regellars fhot thare great guns At marks & made mery: &c

Day 20th thare was one Clark Robberd Knils⁴:

¹ As only four men were killed, the Indians probably practiced a mild grade of the multiplication noted later. One of the men was David Campbell of Killingly.

² Montcalm's grand rendezvous there for the movement against Fort William Henry was effected in July.

³ *I. e.*, exposed himself recklessly.

⁴ Robert Niles, "clark" in Gallup's company.

which came home from scouting without his honnors
Leave: Redueded to the Ranks: & whiped 100

200 hampshire folgers 3 Comp¹

Day 21th we had an a Count took of our names:
haight & Age werather we had Been In the service
before or no &c &c &c & whare we Blonged &c &c
&c there was 2 Indeains whiped one a 100 Laches for
giting Drunk scouting: the other 50 for felling Bark
when he was bid to get It for a gard house

Day 22th one Bosston man Died with Camp Des-
temper. I hear of one that Died Before orders to
get things clean for genral webs: arivel & no man
to go out of gun fhot of the fort 4 Regelars whipted
40 mohoacks² Brought In a frinch man which they
took near Crown pint: they had a poywoy³ of Re-
joyceing over him &c he said thare was 200 of his
Compantions Beetween the forts⁴ & as many more
Between fort Edward & Surratoage

Day 23th Thursday we Comeing jest of from
Dewty 100 of our men was Calld away to mend
highways Between the forts a Regler was whiped 100

¹ From "No. 4" (Charlestown, N. H.), under Lieutenant-Colonel John Goffe; part of 500 raised this spring by New Hampshire, under Colonel Nathaniel Meserve, and divided by Loudoun.

² Johnson's influence kept the Iroquois on the English side in this war.

³ Powwow. See preface.

⁴ Edward and William Henry.

Lashes for hollowing & scaring the Ennemy when
Gennerel Limon had them partly ambusht

Day 24th three men whipt

Coming In from our work Gennarl web arived hear
more Rodlland men Came hear

Day 25th one Regellar Died with the small pox.

Day 26 which was the Sabath It Being Ranine
uncomfortable weather 80 men of us went to gard
streams¹ to the Lake & took up our Logeing In the
woods In mesutes² Rigment: one Boston man whipt
50¹ for pissing In a kittle of Peas.

Day 27th one of our men takeen with small pox
an Exspress Came from Lake Gorge givinge an a
Counte that a scout had Been to Crown pint & take-
ing a vew of things Coundl see But few of the Enemy
thare: Leftanant John Coun³ & Cap Baker was taken
By Indeins from Crown pint near scattecook:

Day 28th Came 13 frinchmen & Rezined them
felves up: saying they had [nothing] to eat for 7 or
8 Days: Allso that thare a Lewance had Been one
Pound Pork 11 Days. Six men taken small pox:
we picth our tents the out Side of the pickets so that
500 Green Regelars & 500 Roil amerrycans⁴ the
Blews might go with In them

¹ A slip for "teams."

² Massachusetts.

³ Cone, of Welles' company.

⁴ Both arrived this day. The "Green Regulars" were John-
son's New-Yorkers.

Day 29th we moved our tents having the Pleasher of airing them & our selves: a scouting Party of 200 men set out to go to the East Bay:¹

Day 30th one Regelar died:

July the 1th day was friday Captain putmans came home & told us he surrounded 300 french & Indians 3 mile above y^e south beay² & fired at them 11 oclock³ & fit till 4 In the morning & one of his men was killed By our men⁴: genral Limon with 300 men: went out scouting one compeney Rangers⁵ sent home one man killd⁶ & 2 taken⁷ 30

¹ Of Lake Champlain: the easternmost of the two prongs into which the long narrow southern portion divides in its extreme southern part, and into which Wood Creek empties, with Whitehall now at its mouth.

² The western of the two prongs; he means three miles above its head or southern end. The ambush was in fact on East Bay, at a ledge half a mile above the head. The hostile party were some five hundred, mainly Indians, under the celebrated French Canadian partisan Marin; and were dreadfully cut up by Putnam's band. They murdered one of Putnam's wounded, and carried off two others.

³ P. M.

⁴ Elijah Sweetland of Hebron, of Welles' company. Another party of scouts mistook Putnam's men for foes and fired into them; and Putnam told them they ought to be hanged for not killing more with so fair a shot.

⁵ Putnam's.

⁶ Henry Shuntup of Welles' company; probably a Mohegan. His heart was cut out and a block of wood put in its place; this seems to have been reserved for Indian enemies.

⁷ Jabez Jones of Fitch's company, John Kennedy of Slapp's.

mohoaks came In with 2 scalps from near Crown Pinte

Day 2th fix man taken with small pox: 2 men whipt for Being Drunk

Day 3th which was sabath It Raind But no scaesa-tion of work But a day to Pay them for thare Labour: 4 frinch men Came hear from Crown Pint & Rezined them felves up¹

Day 4th galard list Ranger² 2 men Died with Camp Deftemper³ 1 Limons man the oth other of Boston forses: the number of men that have y^e small pox⁴ In y^e horspetell about 50 Rod from the fort Is 101:

Day 5th 18 men Listed to fired great guns a Raine day peperd with frech meat for Eating.⁵

Day 6th out of Boston forsis one Smith Died with the Camp Deftemper the Camp Driners⁶ from

¹ From hunger: this occurred repeatedly.

² *I. e.*, Charles Gaylord of Payson's company enlisted in the Rangers.

³ This seems not to mean any one disease, but pneumonia ("Long fever"), dysentery, and other non-contagious ailments.

⁴ This epidemic heavily crippled the efficient force of the troops for two or three years, and drove some bodies of them home.

⁵ Probably from Albany: this grateful event was an important item to all. "We took our allowance partly in fresh provision," says another.

⁶ Very plain, but of course meaning "Drivers."

Allbany Arived hear with thares new Recruts one ofesor taken with the fmall pox

Day 7th Johnathan Tilor John Willfon : Charls Galard Left our tent for Rangers ' thare Compenney was Sursposed to Be verry good But thare Room much Better

Day 8th one man wipt 100 Lashes

Day 9th one man whipt

Day 10th which was the fabath 18 of Cap Rogers men killed & taken near Crown pint² one frinch prisner³

Day 11th one of genral Limons men Died with the Camp Destemper Being Able to woak a Bout yersterday Johnnathen Rementon of Suffeld Limons Compenney :

Day 12th Dainal Boke & John Ashley⁴ whipt again

¹ Tyler, Wilson, and Gaylord were all of Payson's company. Six companies of Rangers had been organized on the 5th: headed by Captains Putnam and Safford of Connecticut, West and Learned of Massachusetts, Wall of Rhode Island, and McGinniss of New York.

² This affair cannot be further identified. Rogers makes no allusion to it.

³ Brought in by the Indians of Stockbridge, Mass., where Jonathan Edwards then was.

⁴ Bogue had been in the guard-house for three days, and now received fifty lashes, after his frightful experience seven weeks before. "Old Ashley" received fifteen.

Day 13th: 6 great guns was fired of 6 times
a peace

Day 14th thursday one man Died with the Camp
Disstemper

Day 15th one man Died the Bloody flux: another
y^e small pox: 4 men whiped one of them 200 Lashes
In the morning & 200 at night thare was one man
of the Bosston forses Runing with one of his mates¹
fell Down Dead Emeadeately

Day 16th our tent mates had thair tents took
from us & we put Into other tents

Day 17th which was the sabath one Drumer
whipt for playing Cards² 200 of the Rangers fet
out for a 12 Days scout In order to go to the vance
gard which the frinch fet out Below the narrows³

Day 18th a number Bosston men went to mend-
ing high ways Down to still waters

[? Day 19th] one man & one woman Died

Day 20th Levi Strong & John Rogers Conveyd
to the hors: petell sick

Day 21th one man⁴ shot to Death for Defarting
to the frinch a scout of 40 men Came In & gave:

¹ Playing ball.

² Probably for card-sharping, as there was great license in
gaming.

³ Of Wood Creek as before.

⁴ A Dutchman named Peck.

an a Counte that fume Indeins fired upon them & killed Leftennant Donet¹ & others² the main of them Left thare packs and Run home from f[o]uth Bay oxford³ was whipt Ninety Lashes for felling Rume⁴ & telling fortins to the Regelers Ceucip⁵ Indean Died with pox

Day 22th Joseph Spencer & 6 more of our Compeny fet out for the still waters⁶ one John Tommus a RodIlander aboute 9 oClock In the morning for Passing filver mony⁷ wich he made himself was whipt 300 Lashes.

Day 23th Aboute 9 oClock In the morning a Considerrable number of frinch & Indeains furreded our Capenders with thare Covering party & they had a hot In gagement: for half an ouer aboute half

¹ Of Massachusetts; probably Domett or Donnell. The Massachusetts rolls of this war are not published.

² Another account says the lieutenant only was killed, and the rest all ran away as here told.

³ A negro from East Haddam, in Welles' company.

⁴ Sergeant Joseph Comstock and Drummer John Chappell of Fitch's company were punished with him for the same offense, the former being reduced to the ranks.

⁵ Probably Cujep or Chuchip, a Pequot from Groton. There were several generations of this name.

⁶ Part of a large detachment to relieve the forces there and at Saratoga.

⁷ Spanish dollars.

a mile East of the fort 11 men was killed¹ which was Brough In & Buryed 6 men was fum of them Badly wound: & Seaverral more missing² Picpen³ one of these wounded men of putmans Died at fun fet: the Regelers from Surratoage Came hear 10 men Carryed to the horspetill with ye small pox

Day 24th which was y^e Sabbath one more of these wound men⁴ Died: one Captain hardin Died with y^e small pox.

Day 25th General web was aided up to Lake Gorge with 1000⁵ men to wate upon his honnor Levi Strong one of our Compney wich Belonged to Boston Died with ye Long⁶ fever: one man haveing the small pox was Carryed to the horspetill: Aboute 100 Regellars a Rived hear from ftill warters Jeams Tuler⁷ of Simsbeary Corl Limons Compney Died

¹ And another mortally wounded. The Indians divided the eleven scalps they carried so as to claim pay for thirty-two! The as-sailing party was 150 Indians and a few Canadians.

² Only one was carried prisoner by the Indians; the others scattered in the woods.

³ Probably Pitkin; the roll of these wounded men is lost.

⁴ Amos Bibben of Slapp's company.

⁵ Other accounts say the escort was Putnam and 200 Rangers. The diarist may have exaggerated, as he elsewhere does with the Royal Americans; but Webb's conduct makes us suspect that he took as large an escort as possible.

⁶ Lung: pneumonia.

⁷ Tuller.

with the Long feaver: Likewise one more of our foreces

Day 26th one man was killed By another mans gun which went of when: he was a scouring of It ' one man taken with y^e small pox we hear that a scouting party of 350 men² went out from Lake Gorge to y^e weast Bay³ & was fur Round with a number of frinch & Indeins which killed and took 250 of them 100 Escaped them

Day 27th Johnnathen Roberds coparl & Jonnathan Word & Hezekiah Deman⁴ was taken to y^e horspetill: fick: one man Died thare with the Long feaver: one 100 & od of Cunnectecut & Bosston men Set out to Releave sum Regelars at half moon⁵ 3 of [his] our Compeney went thare

¹ In another tent.

² As another diarist of the regiment says the same, Parkman's 300 is probably wrong. They were chiefly Jerseymen sent from Fort William Henry by Parker, and were ambushed at the Lake George narrows by a superior body of Indians under the French Canadian Corbière. The Indians shot some, speared others in the water, and ate three on the spot; but carried most of them captive.

³ Of Lake George, west of the peninsula in the southern half; also called Northwest Bay. But in fact they were some miles further north, near Sabbath Day Point.

⁴ Deming. These were all from Payson's company.

⁵ The peninsula at the junction of the Hudson and Mohawk, afterwards Schuyler's camp in the Revolution.

Day 28th one man Died & one taken with the small pox : & 5 Regelars whiped¹

Day 29th all the Capenders & Battwo² men In y^e camp fet out to work at Lake Gorge : gennaral web Returnd Back to fort Edward :³ one Regelerr Died : one man taken with the small pox one Hezekiah Deman died sudenly with y^e Camp Disitemper :

Day 30th one man Died with y^e Long feaver

Day 31th which was y^e Sabath : one man Died Dockter Lord⁴ got in Readeness to go houw

Awgust y^e 1th Ad 1757 one man Died & one taken with y^e small pox

Day 2 Dockter Lord went houw for more things the Boston foresses and 500 Roil amearicans⁵ marcht up to fort willaim henorry

Day 3th the greate guns Begun to fire at 4 a Clock In the morning at Lake gorge and keep going at times and turns : thare was spies sent up thare

Day 4th these spies⁶ Brough In a frinch man

¹ One a second time, for losing his blanket and contumaciously asserting that he had received none.

² Bateau.

³ Under the same escort.

⁴ Elisha Lord of Farmington.

⁵ Only 100 in fact, with Captain Crookshank's independent company and 823 of Frye's Massachusetts regiment, all under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Young of the 60th.

⁶ James Collier, of Gallup's company. He deserted ten days later.

hwo they took near Lake gorge: which was killing an ox hwo said that y^e army which ware segeing Lake gorge was 11000¹ they had 32 Cannon & 12 mortar peases

Day 5th we heared fort william haner was furround with frinch & Indeains 2 Cap putmans Rangers went up & Got Into y^e fort

Day 6th 2 men got away from thare which gave us an a Counte that y^e frinch was Digeing trinches for thare safte²: But had not fired any cannon at y^e fort: 3 men Died with fickness

Day 7th which was y^e sabath gennarl gonson³ ariveed hear with 1500 men: an Express came from y^e Lake which said they were In good sperits thare haveing Lost But 5 men allfso that they [keap] could keap them of with thare Bums fevearl Days⁴: that they would not have gennarl web fend them any healp while⁵ he Could Cume with a party strong

¹ He said there were 6000 regulars and 5000 Canadians. There were in fact about 8000 in all, of whom some 2000 were Indians.

² Safety.

³ Now Sir William. Other accounts say he arrived the day before.

⁴ Monro is reported by Jabez Fitch, Jr., one of the "Boston forces" here, as saying that he was "as well pleased as if he was in his own country among y^e pertaters"; but that was because he expected speedy relief from Webb.

⁵ Until.

a nought to Drive of so great an army of french¹

Day 8th mon the great guns keep firing very fast at fort william henery one Johnnathen worden of Simsbery one of our Compenny Died with y^e Bloody flux

Day 9th fort willaim henery was Refined upon these Condishons our men what was Left of them was to sease Lif[t]ing up arms against y^e french for 18 months they² Brock their artecles & took away thare³ Packs & Colors & a great many of thare guns & the Indeans killed more of our men when ye french was garding them Drown to fort Edward then in y^e fight⁴

Day 10th our sick fet out for allboney ye Remainder of y^e Command of fort willaim henery Come Down Being Striped of thare Coleres wounded & Lame

Day 11th one nethanel Rogers of our Compenny Dyed with y^e Bloodey flux more of these priseners

¹ This was probably camp gossip, as Monro's existent letters to Webb contain nothing of the kind; but it would have been good sense, as any less reinforcement simply swelled the number to be sacrificed. Webb had already done exactly that, his "relief" forming part of those surrendered and partly massacred.

² The French.

³ The prisoners'.

⁴ A very mild statement.

Came scatering In¹: fume Connecttecut men from y^e
uper towns Came hear

Day 12th one Clark Steal Died with small pox
haford² troops came hear

Day 13th one man Died

Day 14th which was y^e Sabath two frinchmen
Came In hear & one frinch ofesser with y^e flags
truce y^e time of y^e Sun Cleps³

Day 15th one John fouster was whipt 150 Lashes
our men Brought one Cannan from y^e Lake & 400
men came from Lake Camplain which the french
[held?] for thare safty: while⁴ they Could Cary
away y^e spoil which they took thare

¹ A signal gun was fired once in two hours to guide those es-
caped from the massacre wandering in the woods.

² Hartford.

³ That is, late in the afternoon; "This night about gun firing,"
says Fitch. This eclipse was an annular one of great interest, but
the afternoon was "So clouded that we Could Scaircely Perseve
It." Nathaniel Ames' Almanack (Boston) for 1757 has the fol-
lowing prediction: "Of the Sun, *August* 14th, vifible, and the
most remarkable Eclipse seen by us this Age; and the Curious
are desired to be careful in the Observation of it; the Semidiam-
eter of the Moon being less than that of the Sun, it cannot be total
but will be Annular, *i. e.*, it will appear like a Gold-Ring." It was
to begin 4.50 p.m.; begin to be annular 5.55.15; cease to be annular
5.58; cease altogether 7.02. Sunset was 6.55, seven minutes
earlier.

⁴ Until: the diarist's regular use.

Day 16th y^e maleshe killed two Bars

Day 17th the meleshe¹ fet out for home 150 of our forses went Downe to furratoge²

Day 18th one Drumer whipt

Day 19th a number of y^e Rangers Came over y^e River to help Ease our Duety

Day 20th 4 men whipt

Day 21th which was the sabath a number of men went to Surratoge one Leftennant Cone³ which was taken By Indeains the East side of the River at Scattecook the 27th Day of Last June and a nother man: makeing thare Escape from moriall⁴ In Cannaday: Came In hear and Said that a most all Cannaday that ware able to go to war came Down at the takeing of fort william henery

Day 22th two Regelars Died our a Lewance of Rume falling from one gill to a Quarter of the same feased

Day 23th I heard that Dockter Lord was sick with the small pox at Albany

¹ Connecticut militia; by orders.

² Of the number of militia that poured in just in time not to save Fort William Henry, many returned at once on hearing the news; some remained a short time in great hardship, without tents, blankets, or cooking utensils, then went home despite their officers, whom the "Yorkers" threatened to shoot if restrained.

³ John Cone of Welles' company.

⁴ Montreal.

Day 24th fore men Came from Cannaday one of them was Cap Erlehighs¹ our Agetents waiter Last year his name Is vain

Day 25th 2 men whipt one for Drowing Rum out of the stores ye other: sleeping on gard²

Day 26th 2 of Captain Putmans men Brought In a Regellar hwo had Dafarted from our Campe.

Day 27th 4 of Captain Putmans men Came In 2 of them was sick they set out y^e 21th Day of august they went with In 10 or 11 miles of Tyconderoga & see no fines of [Indeans] frinch or Indeians: 4 Yorke Defarters Brought from Albany

Day 28th one man Died one woolcut³ of our Company was taken with y^e small pox

Day 29 gennarl Limon with a partey of men went out & killed 7 or 8 Dear & one Bare Efarram flent Died⁴

Day 30th one frinchman Came In: Captain putman with his Scout Came In: not haveing seen any fyne of y^e Enemy: one man whipt

¹ Timothy Hierlihy of Middletown; entered as clerk to the adjutant in 1755, became captain and adjutant, and served through the war.

² These were Peter Davis and Robert Jaquish of Gallup's company. Samuel Chapman of Welles' was included.

³ Alexander Wilcutt; died Sept. 7.

⁴ Or Aug. 3, as on the rolls.

Day 31th two Regellars was whipt 75 Lashes for whareing a Durty fhirt on gard

September y^e 1th thursday Day 1th Ad 1757 2 presenars Came In from Cannady the Regelars ware whipt again¹ Dockter Lords goods came

Day 2th new Beden² Came from allbany and many pots & kitells

Day 3th our a Lewance half a gill Came again

Day 4th which was y^e Sabath Came In 6 frinch Deserters one of them fursposed to Be a Jew one Bosston man³ In a fit fell Down & Died fudently.

Day 5th two Regelars⁴ ware fhot to Death for deserting to the frinch one of Colonal Limons men was whipt 500 Lashes for Listing Into the york forses⁵

Day 6th a Comemand of 200 men went Downe Surratoge to: toreleve those which ware thare:

Day 7th one of the yorkers was whipt 500 Lash & Drumed out of the Camp with a Rope: abute his neck: one Regelar 500 Lashes for muteny

Day 8th thursday twelve men⁶ Came from num-

¹ Not explainable.

² Bedding.

³ — Wicks.

⁴ Corporal Dorman (Catholic) and Rice Llewellyn, of unknown localities.

⁵ This was counted desertion. See Preface.

⁶ Under Ensign Butler.

ber fore¹ and told us that Coronal whiten with his 500 men² ware a Comeing to fort Edward allfo that they had not Lost one man with fickness 3 had Been killed

Day 9th we had orders that [no] man went out of the Lines at Suratoge upon any a Conte what fo Ever with out Leave of the Comemanding offescer:

Day 10th two men whipt one 300 Lashes for Disarting: one 200 for going with out the Lins to fhiching.

Day 11th which was the sabath hear was many forts of gameing as well as cursing & Swareing.

Day 12th more of the Sick went Downe to Allbanney

Day 13th one yorker whipt 300 Lashes for getting Drunke a Regelar for ye same 100

Day 14th two men fhot to Death at fort Edward

Day 15th a party of men Came hear Bound for Still waters 25 of them went to Scaticook to make hay

Day 16th two thousand Regelars³ Came hear for Fort Edward Bound.

¹ Fort No. 4, on the Connecticut, at Charlestown, N. H.

² Colonel Nathan Whiting, lieutenant-colonel of Lyman's regiment, had been ordered with 500 men to No. 4, to replace Lieutenant-Colonel Goffe and his 200 previously mentioned, ordered by Loudon to Fort William Henry.

³ Forbes' and Blakeney's regiments.

Day 17th: 500 high Landers¹ was hear for our Releaf

Day 18th which was the sabath we marcht up to fort Edward:

Day 19th mr Pomerry went home²: fore men whipt Crueley one Drumed out of the Camps with a Rope aboute his neck³

Day 20th one Bare & one Dear was killed By hunters

Day 21th Dockter Joseph Bouth⁴ Died. Cap Rogers with his Rangers Came hear

Day 22th 7 Barlels of Rum was Brought for Connecttecut youse

¹ This was the famous 42d Regiment or Black Watch, formerly employed in keeping the Scotch Highlands in order after 1745. Its major was Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, the hero of one of the most weird and romantic of second-sight legends, with "Ticonderoga" for its basis: told by Parkman in "Montcalm and Wolfe," by Constance Gordon-Cumming in the *Atlantic Monthly* (September 1884), and elsewhere. He was killed in the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758.

² Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, chaplain from Aug. 8 on; but he evidently did not go far, as he preached a week later.

³ Francis Fleming of Lyman's company. Lyman evidently had a general court-martial to clear his guard-house and settle up arrears. "Old Francis Fleming received the remainder [!] of his punishment 500 lashes;" John Shaw of Fitch's "was whipt 300 lashes for his summer's work"; Samuel Crandall of Gallup's got 250; and "one Wood" of Lyman's (not on the roll) 30.

⁴ Of Farmington; a private, probably a local horse-doctor, etc.

Day 23th 5 of the Roil americans was whipt

Day 24th three frinch men Came In hear

Day 25 which was Sabath y^e sabath teams Came from Surratoge mr pomerry Preched with us

D 26th a Duch wagenner haveing apels to fel fold them for a pany apeace But aboute a dussen of Cap putman's Rangers spelt a bushel & a half and eate them up

Day 27th teams Came from Surratoge

Day 28th Came In two frinchmen from ticonderoga which told us that thare was 1500 frinchmen at the Lake: Buts a Lie ¹

Day 29th we had two Ears of green Corn amongst feaven men Each man a bet about as Long as my thum

Day 30th our post Came hear with few Leters
october the furst day

Day 1th the Rangers killed 2 Dear & one Bare

Day 2th which was the sabath one man Died one taken with y^e small pox the teams Came hear from Surratoge: one frinch man brough In hear from Crown Pint

Day 3th a bosfsten Leftannant² had his Sword Brok over his head for Disabligeing Langweg: a party of our men went up to y^e Lake to see what

¹ It was.

² Knowles.

they could find: they took a frinch Defarter & a grate Deel of fase ¹

Day 4th 4 men whipt the Regellars Began to Clear up the hill the wast side of the Eiland

Day 5th one man Died Ashbell moses went to the horspettall: two Bares killed

Day 6th teams Came from Suratoge one Regular Cashed a fisch that wayed 16 pounds & gennaral web gave him a Doller for it:

Day 7th three men Came from molbeary ² to fell Chease

Day 8th one man Died

Day 9th which was y^e fabath: those which had the Rumatis & the worst of the fick ³ ware Cayryed Down to Allbanny from hear thare by wather one man Died with small pox: & one with Camp Destemper ⁴

Day 10th one negro whipt ⁵ for fleeping on gard: a flag Truce Came Down from y^e Lake

Day 11th a comemand of our men went up to the

¹ "Garden sass": green vegetables.

² Marlborough.

³ Five of them.

⁴ There was but one — Sergeant Ebenezer Jackson of Fitch's company; he died of the "distemper" in the small-pox hospital, after recovering from the latter disease.

⁵ Thomas Henry of Fitch's company, 50 lashes.

Lake and Brought Down from the Lake 40 priseners & one wo[man] we furspose they stoped thare to make shure of a grate Quantety of face which they had not yet got the number of men which ware killed: Captivated and Died with Destempers out of Colonal Phennies Limons Rigement Is 51: & 12 Deserted: 10 men from num 4¹

Day 12th one Ashbel moses a Simsbery man Died with ye Long feaver Being Being the 10th man has Died with Destempers out of our Compenny

Day 13th the Companny of york Regelars granaders: marcht for home Capt putman & 5 oficers kild 9 Dear & one Bare

Day 14th the teams carted wood over the River:

Day 15th Comrs² went home

Day 16th which was the sabath we had a hard Storm of Rain: one Dear killed

Day 17th magors Rogers Sent out a scouteing party with 7 of Capt putmans men for an eaight Days fcout

¹ Arrived, not deserted. It was another party under Butler.

² In 1755, commissioners from the colonies which furnished troops to the war had met at Albany, to direct the movements, appoint regimental officers, assign drafts, etc. As there is no record of their appointment by the Assembly (of Connecticut at least), they were probably appointed by the governor and council; and we may presume from this entry that the same thing was done this year. No other published document speaks of them.

Day 18th John gafit¹ was whipt: 100 Lashes: for the Confeatatsy² of Stealing a gun

Day 19th a grate number of the fick Regelars with the teams we heard that we should march for home the 27th Day of october Instant &ccc

Day 20th two Roil amearacans³ was hanged fo[r] Desearshon:⁴ 3 more Reseved a tousand Lashes & Drumed out of the Camps Asel Andderis⁵ taken to hospetill

Day 21th Conolan Liman with his fubottons⁶ and aboute 500 men marcht up to Lake Scockerromah⁷ to take a vew of the Reue[n]gs of the fort⁸ one man Died:

Day 22th Colonan Limon with his men Came home one man Died

Day 23th which was y^e Sabath two yorkers Being sent to Look up some sheep one of them was

¹ Japhet, of Lyman's company: Indian or negro.

² Qy. confederacy = collusion?

³ John Rhodes and Andrew Westerman.

⁴ Another account says for stealing.

⁵ Asahel Andrews, of Payson's company.

⁶ Subalterns.

⁷ Lake George. Gridley's name is a creditable phonetic effort at spelling the French pronunciation of their term for it, Lac Saint-Sacrement: the last word would sound to him like "Sockr-romah," and his inserted extra "c" makes Scock'erromah.

⁸ William Henry.

killed & scalped Jest Below the Brick kills: the other surposed to Be taken By fume sculking In-
deains two Dear was killed

Day 24th they found this other man Dead and
scalpt

Day 25th a considerrable number which ware week
and poor ware sent Down In Carts and wagons one
man Died:

Day 26th our wood was Cleand off from the
Iland so that we Began to peck upon the Stubs:

Day 27th the teams Came from Sirratoge: one
Dear was killed: one man Died

Day 28th gennarl Limons horse had a stable made
for him: Eleven teams went Down to Scatecook for
heay for him & nothing In it. our teams carted wood
By the Brick kills:

Day 29th It Began to snow at 9 oclock In the
morning farjant abner meachum Died

Day 30th which was the sabath fifteen of our Rig-
ment fet out for home & marcht furrotoge

Day 31th we fet fail^r two oclock & went Cap
Lamsons

November Day 1th from thence we marcht to y^e
half moon

^r The rapids at Fort Miller prevented going by barge from
Fort Edward.

Day 2th from thence we marcht & taryed 6 miles above allbany

Day 3th from thence we thraviled to Green Bouch: Colonal manrow¹ Died one man was fhot to Death three of our fick² Died:

Day 4th from thence we marcht 12 miles & Lay at the half way house

Day 5th we marcht 18 miles and Came Into Canterhook & Lay 2 miles north of the ftone house

Day 6th which was the Sabath we marcht 12 miles and Lay at nobles town³

Day 7th from thence we marcht 25 miles & Lay at Captain Coles In Cannan

Day 8th from thence we marcht 12 miles & Lay at Landard Joashes In goshon

Day 9th from thence we marcht 15 miles & Lay at Landard wiyers⁴

Day 10th I got home 2 oclock

In the year 1758 August the 13th I Layed at Landard Larraneces In canan

¹ Monro, ex-commander of Fort William Henry. He was stricken with apoplexy in the street.

² Stephen Deming of Lyman's company, Benjamin Hulbert of Payson's, and a third not identifiable.

³ Northeast of Livingston's Manor.

⁴ Probably Wiard's in Harwinton.

The 14th Day I passed to the new England tavern¹ Jest above allbanny Citty

the 15th Day I pasd with Dilligente Inquierry to Surratoge & waited for a garde

the 16th Day I passed to fort Edward

the 17th Day I heard of the Lementable of the Death of Elisha gridly

Day 19th arived at fort miler 12 o Clock from thence to scaratoga the news of Cabretones² being tak[en] a firing

Day 20 which was the Sabath: I treveld to the next house above Coronal Scilars 6 miles above Albany Cyty

Day 21th Came to Landard Saxstons met J Royce Below Love Joys³

Day 22th throm thence I treavild to Mr newels⁴ In Goshon:

Day 23th I got home at night⁵

¹ Tavern. This or a successor of the same name was existent nearly a century later.

² Cape Breton's; *i. e.*, Louisbourg.

³ Lovejoy's Tavern, in Albany.

⁴ Rev. Abel Newell.

⁵ This was about 140 miles in three days, over bad roads, largely across mountainous country and through the woods; a severe though not impossible journey.

An a Count of the men of each Government

Bosstone	8-0-0
Connectecut	0-9-0-0
the Blews govt Jerszy	1-5-0-0
hampshir	0-2-5-0
Rodlland	0-4-5-0
Regelars	2-0-0-0
Yorkers	0-2-0-0

[Elafas	fma pox]
Clark Steal	1
Johnnathan word	2
Elasesander wolcut	3

Small pox

John Keperoge	4
Levi Strong	5
Nethannal Rogers	6
Hezekiah Demman	7
Efraam Hunt	8
Esara Rodden	9
Ashbel moses	10
John willson	pox 11
Sarjant abner mecham	12

Hafford :¹ April 23th Ad 1757

Farmington :

¹ Hartford.

Harrington : ¹
 Lichfeald :
 Gofhen :
 Cornwill :
 Canan
 Solsbeary :
 oblongs : ²
 Ancrom :
 Clavrick : 29 of Aprill :
 Canterhook : 11 D of may wensday
 Greenbuch 22
 Scatacook we marcht from hear
 Still warters
 Suratoke
 fort Edward

Its 54 mils out of Connecticut from thare Its 32
 to Claverick tis 70 miles from thare to Scattecook
 & tis 37 miles from thare to fort Edward

And tis: 193 miles from farmington to fort
 Edward: 193.

¹ Harwinton.

² The Oblong or Equivalent Tract was the strip $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles and 20 rods wide, parallel to the Hudson along the entire western boundary of Connecticut, from Rye, N. Y., upward. It was ceded to New York by Connecticut in 1683, in return for the towns of Greenwich, Stamford, Darien, New Canaan, Norwalk, and part of Wilton.

Sarratoge September y^e 13th day A.D. 1757 I
Received one vommit and one pil to take at Bed
time :

OCT 21 1907

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